DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 313 185 RC 017 320

AUTHOR	Cisneros, Henry
TITLE	Doing More for More: Hispanic Issues for Texas and the Nation.
INSTITUTION	Texas Univ., Austin. Hogg Foundation for Mental Health.
PUB DATE	89
NOTE	24p.; Speech presented at the Independent Sector Annual Meeting (Houston, TX, October 25, 1988).
AVAILABLE FROM	Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78713-7998.
PUB TYPE	Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Viewpoints (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Futures (of Society); Hispanic Americans; Planning; *Population Trends; Public Policy; *Relevance (Education); *Social Change; Trend Analysis
IDENTIFIERS	Private Sector

ABSTRACT

This booklet reprints a speech presented by the Mayor of San Antonio, Texas about the immediate American future and the part that education can play in preparing for it. Demographic studies show that America in the year 2000 will be older and more ethnic. The projected increase in single parent families will produce more children in crisis due to poverty, and child abuse and suicide. Rising medical costs, decline of the middle class, decline in relative international economic power, and technological advances all contribute to the increasing disparity between the richest and poorest citizens. Increasing conservatism will cause a decline in federal programs, particularly social services. Inability of local governments to supply such programs will leave the problems, by default, to private agencies. This eventuality could lead to the identification by citizens of cities as the focus for creating a positive quality of life. Decentralization of responsibility for quality of life will be one of the central themes of the coming era; coalitions of businesses, colleges, schools, and community and business organizations can best meet educational needs created by demographic and economic change. Another important theme of the next several decades might be called the "Latinization of America," as the rapidly growing Hispanic population adds a new dimension to American culture. (DHP)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED313185

DOING MORE FOR MORE:

HISPANIC ISSUES FOR TEXAS AND THE NATION

RC 017320

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

C. Warren

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

DOING MORE FOR MORE: HISPANIC ISSUES FOR TEXAS AND THE NATION

---

by Henry Cisneros

Independent Sector Annual Meeting
October 25, 1988
Houston, Texas

Hogg Foundation for Mental Health
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas 78713-7998
1989

DEDICATION

If indeed Presidential candidates were selected, not on the basis of how they manage to survive the obstacle course that is the Presidential primaries but rather on the basis of their sheer character, intellect, and qualities of contribution, then John Gardner would have been President of the United States a long time ago.

He was the creator of the idea of the White House Fellows Program. I had the good fortune of working as a White House Fellow in the early 1970s. It was a program which had a good deal to do with putting me on a course of public service, making the idea of public service something to which one would want to commit a lifetime.

John Gardner left the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to form the Urban Coalition in the late 1960s. The idea of forging a relationship between the business community and minority communities in the cities was essential. He could see that need and founded the Urban Coalition. He then proceeded to form Common Cause to deal with questions of corruption in government and such, and later, Independent Sector.

Clearly, this is an individual whose contributions and views on the role of government speak as loudly before the founding of Independent Sector as its work has in subsequent years.

Henry Cisneros
Mayor
San Antonio, Texas

FOREWORD

The Hogg Foundation's mandate to improve the mental health of Texas citizens has not changed since the Foundation was established on the eve of World War II. But the pace of social change since that time has been more rapid than during any other half-century period of human history. We have experienced dramatic changes in our technology, knowledge, values, and institutions. The world has become smaller and more interdependent, and the issues related to mental health have become more complex and broader in scope. Understanding these issues and finding new ways to solve the problems they present requires the Foundation's cooperation with many individuals and organizations within Texas, as well as being an active part of regional, national, and international networks with similar goals and interests.

Hogg Foundation staff members are individually active in many local, state, national, and international associations ranging from local nonprofit groups to international mental health and philanthropic organizations. The Foundation, as an organization, is a member of three associations that play significant roles in keeping us informed on new developments in both mental health and organized philanthropy.

- The Conference of Southwest Foundations was founded by the Hogg Foundation's first President, Robert Lee Sutherland. It was the first association of its kind and today includes more than 140 foundations in six states.
- The Council on Foundations was established shortly thereafter, and it serves as a national forum for innovations in foundation management and programmatic areas including many related to mental health.
- The newest organization, the Independent Sector, was founded by John Gardner in 1980. Its purpose is to bring together corporations, foundations, and voluntary associations "to create a national forum capable of encouraging the giving, volunteering, and not-for-profit initiative that help all of us to better serve people, communities, and causes."

Henry Cisneros' speech at the 1988 annual meeting of the Independent Sector brings together issues of concern to the nation, Texas, and the Hogg Foundation. It provides the demographic, economic, and political contexts for understanding one of the Hogg Foundation's major concerns—the mental health needs of Hispanic Texans and their communities.

Charles M. Bonjean
Vice President
Hogg Foundation for Mental Health

INTRODUCTION

Having heard Henry Cisneros on several occasions, I knew we were in for a treat when he agreed to address our 1988 Independent Sector Annual Meeting in Houston.

We asked Mayor Cisneros, who is Past President of the National League of Cities and leader of the coalition that developed the "Hispanic Agenda," to look at Texas as a laboratory of changing demographics and the consequences for public and private funding in the future—something of considerable interest to our 650 national voluntary organization, foundation, and corporate members.

What Henry Cisneros gave us was that and so much more. He gave us a very detailed and important look at the future, not only of Texas, but of this nation. He described the future in a way that suggests an ever-changing rainbow of multi-ethnic presence; and then so eloquently led us through the importance and benefits—economic and social—of appropriately involving all Americans in working for the nation's future.

For those who were present, this is an opportunity to relive that special moment. For others, it is a chance to read a most important message of how this country should prepare for the next century.

We appreciate the efforts of the Hogg Foundation to provide this reprint to all of you.

Brian O'Connell
President
Independent Sector

DOING MORE FOR MORE:
HISPANIC ISSUES FOR TEXAS AND THE NATION

A philosopher who has worked most recently at the American Enterprise Institute, a fellow named Michael Novak, has written a number of books, including *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism.** He has evolved into a thinking about what he calls the "mediating institutions" in the society. His views present broad opportunities and unusual roles for organizations and institutions represented here.

As a mayor, I can clearly see that most of the problems that we face in our cities require not the efforts of government, not the self-reliance of individuals acting alone, but a whole series of intermediary or mediating institutions. Novak says that the present partisan philosophy is just out of touch with the real need.

Democrats tend to think in terms of big government, alphabet soup bureaucracies. Republicans have tended to think in terms of the individual's solving problems alone. In fact, both of these are really outdated concepts. A whole new matrix of interrelated institutions and networks of institutions is what is called for. And that, more than anything else, I think, captures the idea of what the Independent Sector is all about.

I'll talk with you today about the future. It is a future that I'd like to address in several ways: the social trends and demographics of our nation's future, some of the economic and technological issues of our future, and a sense of political and governance questions. Then we can see what these trends mean for your institutions and the organizations that you manage that are so important to our country.

First, I am convinced that the dominant feature of our times is change. This change is massive in its scale, almost impossible to document. How pervasive is change in the manner in which it touches our lives? A constant flow of new products and the latest technology are consistently infused into our daily lives. These are manifest in the daily routine from the starting of an automobile to the checking out of groceries at the grocery store, using the latest state-of-the-art laser technology.

It's a change that is rapid in its pace. What we hear on this evening's news is likely to have a different cast by the time we hear it in tomorrow morning's broadcast. And it's a change that, ironically, is permanent. That is to say, it is a constant, relentless, feature of our world. And anyone whose personality requires that things stand still in order to understand them—a kind of

*Novak, Michael. *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Polaroid snapshot of the world to comprehend it and understand it—is going to be ill-suited for the reality of the dimensions of this change.

When I first became a City Council member in San Antonio, I used to think in those frames of mind—project management, beginning-to-finish—hoping that when we completed a project, the whole world would stop for a second and bask in the accomplishment that I regarded it to be. I can't tell you the disappointment when nobody stopped at all. The train just kept right on moving. And I have discovered since that it requires a temperamental adjustment, a personality adjustment, to handle relentless and constant change.

Some of the great changes sweeping across the landscape of our country will touch your organizations, the assumptions of your work, and the requirements for how you will adjust your own personal thinking and the mind-set of these institutions.

Social Trends

To me, the most serious social development of the next decade, and certainly of the next century, is the juxtaposition of two demographic realities. One is the aging of traditional populations; the other, the growth of ethnic minorities.

Aging Populations

In 1990, the census will show for the first time in American history that we will have more Americans over 65 years of age than teenagers. The United States population will continue to grow older as the median population age continues to rise. And frankly, we haven't seen the end of this trend.

As the Baby Boomers of my generation reach 55 and 60 and 65, in the years 2000 to 2010, we will see an unprecedented number of people in the pre-retirement years—and then into retirement status. So there will be growing concerns about issues of generational equity.

To the degree society fails to provide income security and a sense of quality of life for that greater-than-ever number in advancing age, the entire society will pay the price for the fear and the insecurity that is associated with that age group. I have seen this in my own city. We have had movements supporting Proposition 13-type capping of taxes, largely initiated by retiree populations. It is serious in that these populations seem to be saying, "As long as we are income-insecure, we can't afford to go with you and ride with you and support you, on matters related to building new schools, or basic new urban infrastructure, or investing in bond issues, or sustaining property tax increases."

It suggests not only an aging in the population mix but several attitudes of retrenchment as well, with respect to the American future and the willingness to invest in that future. There are very serious questions beyond the more traditional issues of health care and Social Security and others that have been mentioned.

Ethnic Minorities

Now, the changes described above become particularly serious when they are juxtaposed against the other demographic reality, which is the growth of ethnic minorities in our society, particularly Blacks and Hispanics. It's not an accident that the mayors of Chicago or Philadelphia or Newark or Baltimore or Atlanta or Los Angeles are Black. Nor is it an accident that the mayors of Miami or Denver are Hispanic. Nor is it an accident that women have put together coalitions that include large support groups of Blacks and Hispanics in Houston or in Dallas or in San Diego or in other American cities. These are not chance events. They are reflective of fundamental new demographics in America's cities.

In the 1960s Carl Stokes was elected mayor of Cleveland. That was a historic achievement, a historic moment—that a northern city would elect a Black mayor. Today, it is more the rule than the exception, and I suspect this will continue into the next decade and the year 2000.

But far more important than what is happening in cities—because this could be dismissed by the society as enclaves of demographic change that are not indicative of the society as a whole—are new data showing what this means for the country.

The California State Library System—which is the overarching, guiding institution for about 1200 libraries in the state of California—initiated an analysis asking the question, "How do we help guide the libraries of California for the cultural traits and attributes of the expected new demographics of the year 2000?"

Keep in mind that the year 2000 is a few short years from now and that 2000 is not a stopping point. We tend to look at these statistics and freeze frame them in the year 2000, forgetting that whatever demographics move us to 2000 are going to accelerate by 2005 and 2010. So to plan for the moment, rather than for the dynamic that runs through it, is repeating the mistake that I described earlier about how to think about change.

According to the Rand Corporation's analysis conducted for the California State Library System, in the year 2000, California will be the largest state in America. The second largest state after California will be New York. California's population will be 27 million and New York's will be about 17 million, to give a feel for the order of magnitude there. California in the year 2000 will be 40 percent Hispanic, Asian, and Black. Not some central city, but the massive, entire state that is California.

San Francisco County will be 65 percent minority, the largest of which will be Asian. Los Angeles County (not the city of LA) will have a population of 8 million, 60 percent of which will be minority, the largest percent, Hispanic. Even Orange County, traditional center of conservative population, will be 40 percent minority, the largest percent, Hispanic. In rural areas like Imperial Valley, of the 73 percent minority, the largest portion will be Hispanic. The "Latinization of America" will be defined more specifically in a later section of this presentation.

The most stunning statistic to come from the library study was that in the year 2000, 92 percent of the people of California will live in counties that are at least 30 percent minority. Thirty percent is a significant number. With a minority of almost one-third, we begin to see the effect upon the cultural feel of the community. Ninety-two percent of Californians will live in such counties in the year 2000.

It seems this whole question of ethnic transformation is no longer a question of doing right by someone else, exhibiting Judeo-Christian compassion, observing civil rights, or upholding constitutional ideals. It becomes an issue of how America functions, and how America, not to put too strong a phrase on it, "survives."

Because, you see, to the degree that the majority of these minorities just described—at least Blacks and Hispanics—live in the lower rungs of the economic ladder, we will not be able as a society to carry the burden of an underclass that is that large, relegated to a status of lesser productivity, lesser literacy, lesser citizenship. The simple fact of the matter is that no country operating in the very tough competition in which we will function in the next century will be able to function carrying 10 or 15 or 20 million people in a permanent underclass. It won't work.

The Prime Minister of Japan said several years ago that he was not worried about America's competing in the next century with Japan, because, he said, "America is a polyglot nation—too many Blacks and Hispanics." And he was properly criticized for that statement. But, frankly, he could have altered it only slightly and probably been correct. America will not be able to compete with the Japanese in the new and emerging industries, nor with northern Europeans for that matter, unless it addresses the educational needs and the productivity needs of those large Black and Hispanic populations.

So, this whole question of the juxtaposition of the aging of traditional populations and the growth of minority populations is an issue that must be at the forefront of the concerns of every American in service. Oh, I suspect it's possible to live a good life and never worry about this question—in suburban enclaves, shopping malls, or new cities in suburban nodes. But it is not possible to be in service to this country and its ideals and its goals and its future and its prosperity and be unaware of these issues.

Now it so happens that there's a kind of silver lining in this cloud, because, while traditional populations are aging, the economy still continues to grow—more slowly than before, but nevertheless it grows. There will be jobs. If those large minority populations are matched to those new jobs, this economic engine that is American society works again. But it will take investment in skills, investment in education and human capital in order for that to work. This presents probably the most critical domestic, security, and survival questions for the year 2000.

Continuing Needs

Another social trend that will continue to affect your work includes the continued increase in single parent families. There will be more children in crisis—due to poverty, child abuse, and suicide. We will see an increased

focus on illiteracy. We will reshape traditional medical systems, as the costs of delivery of medical services drive traditional methods out of the reach of many Americans. AIDS will continue to be a critical question, and drug abuse will be increasingly visible. And, education will be the front burner question for many Americans who want to do something significant for the future of the society.

That means creating in schools a climate of high expecations for all students, not just for the most advantaged—to set a national standard by which it is unacceptable to perpetuate failure in the schools, as so many school systems tend to do today. We need special emphasis on preschool and early education. Nutritional deficiencies of disadvantaged children must be overcome enroute to creating the environment in which learning can take place.

We need to work together—public sector and private sector, schools and businesses, and the mediating institutions that you represent—to create effective schools where there are clear instructional goals and high expectations; and where the principal provides strong leadership of the kind that is an entrepreneur creating an effective school. We need a school where achievement data are used to create clear targets of accomplishment. All of these will be part of the social setting in which your organizations will go forward into the 1990s and beyond.

Economic and Technological Trends

There's a second set of themes that are economic and technological trends. Now what makes the situation that I've described earlier a little dicey is that it happens to match a period in American history when growth has slowed. We're losing some of the jobs that created the stable middle class that was so essential to accomplishing the American dream in the 1950s and 1960s and the 1970s.

Today the prosperity of our country becomes ever more dependent upon the economic strength of other nations. That doesn't mean that we're absolutely losing in the competition with other countries. We're still

growing, in terms of our GNP and our production levels. But, if you recently read Paul Kennedy's book, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers** —which was very difficult for me to read because it was so heavily economically historical—he paints this picture: it's not necessary that this country slip in terms of its absolute production; rather, what happens is that others become stronger and we lose in percentage terms. That is what he sees happening to America.

There's no doubt that the Japanese will take larger shares than they have. And the Europeans, after 1992, functioning as a European community, will take larger shares than they have. So the United States will suffer some percentage declines. Whatever our GNP percentage was on the world chart, it will be lower in the 1990s. That's not a pessimistic forecast; it's a statement of fact. We are in a new set of relationships. As a result, we're going to see more jobs going offshore—jobs to Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan. Now you have the NICS—the newly industrializing countries in Asia, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia—taking a share of jobs. So it's a whole new ballgame, and it's going to affect our jobs.

What concerns me about that is the implication for what we might call the American Class Structure, an almost un-American idea. We don't think in terms of classes. But unless real attention is given to this question of how our economy unfolds, we are going to gravitate toward a society that is more polarized along income lines.

This is not the doing of government. A cutting of social programs didn't do this. It's more intrinsic to our economy, although government could have been a greater factor in redressing this direction over the last few years.

The Human Factor

Data for last year show that one-fifth of Americans, 20 percent of the U.S. population, earned 43 percent of the nation's income. This is the largest percentage since the end of World War II, for that 20 percent to earn almost half the income. The bottom 20 percent earned only 4.7 percent of the national income, which is the smallest percentage for the lowest one fifth in 25 years. So there is a polarization occurring. I referred earlier to the creation of a permanent underclass; that's what threatens to happen if these trends toward income polarization continue.

*Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. New York: Random House, 1987.

Given that the new jobs being created require greater knowledge of mathematics, science, and quantitative methods, what we face is a wider chasm between those who are technologically literate and those who are technologically illiterate—those who are technologically competent and those who will be relegated to a kind of bystander status in this new economy.

When the latter occurs, the numbers of children in poverty will grow. Homelessness will continue to persist. We will find new challenges in pay equity issues, as the bottom rungs of the society simply cannot live on the pay structure that they have. And, as more women work in this new economy, because it is simply impossible to function with a single wage earner in the home, we'll find more demands for child care, flexible hours in the workplace, and many other such family related concerns.

Political and Governmental Trends

A third trend and creation of this future is political and governmental. I expect, for example, that we'll see the continued development of a conservative mood in the country. It's an interesting phenomenon. I don't know what explains it, except that it's in part related to the demographics that were described earlier. A larger percentage of the population is living to advanced years and, frankly, they become fearful as that occurs—fearful about income insecurity. The politics of fear are always the most effective, and the mood will be one that lends itself to that, I think, as we go into the next century.

One aspect of this politics of conservativism is that we're not going to see new programs at the federal level. Frankly, I don't think it matters who's President in 1989 or 1993. Neither candidate will be in a position to start a whole host of new social services or urban programs; it's just not possible. The deficit is running at over $100 billion. We have a need for a level of defense spending, at least to suffice in negotiations with the Soviets.

Decentralization

The simple fact is that we're going to see a continuation of the trend toward decentralization of responsibilities to state and local government. And, as a mayor of a city, I'll tell you that local governments just do not have the resources to respond to the range of problems that we confront.

Continued cuts in governmental funding of human services, matched to public pressure to solve the federal budget deficit, will create an environment in which many problems either will go unresolved or responsibility for them will fall to organizations such as those that you represent. It is a simple statement of fact that this mediating sector—organizations and institutions in service—must play a larger role in addressing many of these social questions as we go into the next century.

The Community as Focal Point

Now another dimension that I think will occur as we watch this decentralization is the business of cities' becoming the focal point for American life. And that means not just in the kind of negative terms that I've been describing today—epidemics of teenage pregnancies and problems related to illiteracy and other things—but also in creating a positive quality of life.

A new sphere of activity is operating at city hall. It's related to the fact that more and more Americans are finding that if they're going to have a good life, it's going to be within community settings. That field is called "Amenity Planning." And I suspect that as we go forward into the next decade, we're going to see a greater emphasis on amenity planning—cultural planning, the visual arts, music and other performing arts—enriching a community, attracting new business and enhancing residents' lives. This change will also play a role in attracting revenues to a community, as cultural districts revitalize dying downtowns.

The greening of America's cities—parks and open spaces—provides recreation, supports neighborhood identities, waterfronts and riverwalks (such as the one we're so proud to present in San Antonio). Animation (a strategy of bringing liveliness to whole communities), bringing in millions of dollars, enhancing local pride with street festivals and ethnic celebrations; all of these act as a bridge for unity. Animation fills with profitable crowds downtown areas that once were deserted central business districts. Neigh-

borhoods and their preservation bring out a cultural reward, enhancing civic pride of people in low income areas. Ethnic districts with their rich heritage can become a financial asset to many communities.

Excellence in design, concept competitions, focusing attention on the importance of community aesthetics on everything from parking lots to creating city vistas, and design competitions on new public buildings and public art, create images for communities as unique places. Each community has a definable character, recognized and separate from other places. That character is enhanced by and reflected in museums, libraries, and historical societies. Also, interpretative centers, planetariums, sidewalk exhibits of local archaeology, and educational centers have their own unique qualities. This can be accomplished through working with local universities to locate everything from small business incubators and continuing education centers in cities. All of this will be the responsibility of local communities.

The federal government is not going to be in a position to do these things; state governments for the most part are not. So again, one of the principal themes of this era is going to be the decentralization of responsibility for the quality of life in which we live and with which we live. And we will either make these things happen in communities, or they will not exist. These things are possible even in hard times.

We witness Pittsburgh, converting itself from the tired, grimy center of the coal and steel business in the 1950s and the 1960s to a city that Rand McNally has characterized as one of the most livable cities in America today. The manner in which it has revitalized its downtown, forged relationships with Carnegie Mellon University, revitalized the climate of small business entrepreneurship—these things are possible. We see them in Pittsburgh. We see them in Boston, where the waterfront redevelopment has spread to the downtown as a whole.

Rejuvenation has also taken place in Baltimore and in Atlanta, which asserted for itself a role as an international city and created, then, a bonafide national focal point. Or Indianapolis—whose own residents called the place "India-no-place" a few years ago—today has simply asserted a new role for itself, using the amateur sports and the efforts of the Eli Lilly Foundation to put millions and millions of dollars into the community. They have also added a pro basketball team, the Indiana Pacers, and pro football team, the Indianapolis Colts.

So this theme then, of decentralization, which includes local involvement and local commitment by foundations and mediating institutions such as yours, will be a very important theme in our lives and the life of our country over the next few years.

Latinization of America

The other theme that I think is going to be important is what might be called the "Latinization of America." That doesn't mean that America is going to be come a Latin country, although our Latin population will be larger than that of many countries that are 100 percent Spanish speaking. But it does mean that this is one of the big stories of the next century—one could say this decade or the next decade, but I choose to talk about it in terms of about the year 2000—because I think there will be an irrevocable momentum to that particular demographic change by the year 2000. It's a wonderful, wonderful thing to see the American fabric have room for one more dimension—the warmth and richness that is the Hispanic culture.

This is a phenomenon, partly because the numbers are so significant that Hispanics will make up the largest ethnic majority in America by the year 2000; most demographers agree. Though it is the fastest growing trend in absolute numbers of people, the population mass in and of itself is not the story. The combination of numbers, though there is significance in where those numbers happen to be, creates a kind of multiplier effect.

When you are 20 percent of the American population of California—with California as important as it is to America—that's an extraordinary multiplication of influence. Twenty percent of Texans—and Texas could be close to the second largest state in the country by the year 2000—constitutes an extraordinary influence. Florida, one of the fastest growing states in America in the last 20 years, already has a governor named Bob Martínez. And the Mayor of Miami is Xavier L. Suarez. Hialeah has a population of 74 percent Cuban. In New York City, there are 1.4 million Puerto Ricans. Chicago's residents include 500,000 Hispanics. Arizona and New Mexico are 36 percent Hispanic. The Mayor of Denver, Colorado is Federico Peña.

There are places that prove to me these are national phenomena, though the strength tends to be significant in certain places such as those I've described. Please keep in mind the states that I've just mentioned, and think of presidential politics and large delegations—Florida, Texas, California, New York, and Illinois—and then add to that growing states like Arizona and Colorado.

National Scene

What makes it a national story is the extent to which there are Hispanic communities in states that we don't think of as having any Hispanic significance. I was surprised when the Mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota, after a speaking engagement at Macalester College, asked to me to join him campaigning. I couldn't imagine how in the world I could help him campaigning in St. Paul, until he took me to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church on the city's west side to a group of 500 Hispanics whom he was courting in that particular election.

Witness the efforts of the Concilio for the Spanish Speaking in Seattle, where a young man named Ricardo Sánchez has run a good strong race for the City Council. Or observe a meeting in Michigan of Hispanic elected officials, expecting to meet in a coffee shop, and instead finding over 200 elected and appointed officials from the State of Michigan and Michigan local communities in Flint, and Saginaw, and Lansing, who are Hispanic.

See a young man be elected to the state legislature from Gary, Indiana and East Chicago, Indiana, where the Hispanic community is particularly stong. We know that there are 100,000 Hispanics each in New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania (where the Philadelphia growth is very significant politically, as it is in northern New Jersey). So this is a national phenomenon which is going to be important just on the basis of numbers.

It will also be important because of the new sophistication in Hispanic advocacy organizations like the National Council of La Raza, headed by Raul Yzaguirre. But very importantly, there's the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, until recently headed by the late Willie Velásquez, which changed voter registration patterns and voter education throughout the southwestern United States, thus creating an entirely new politics in the Southwest.

Three thousand Hispanic elected officials in America—half of them in Texas, an incubator of talent—are serving on school boards, county commissions, and city councils. These people, in turn, rise to the legislature, to the state senate, and to the Congress. And in time, we will see—in Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado—governors and senators and persons who are able to lead the politics of the southwestern United States in significant and contributory ways.

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, which is a member organization of Independent Sector, is litigating right now in Los Angeles to change the makeup of the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County, where there are four Supervisors governing eight million people. Each Supervisor has greater responsibility than four Congressmen.

Los Angeles County has a budget larger than that of 42 states in America. Yet despite the size of the Hispanic population, not a single member of that Board of Supervisors is Hispanic. So, with these groups joined by the Justice Department, which acknowledges the inequity of the situation, litigation begins to change the status. The new sophistication is impressive today in organizations which used to be competitive, backbiting, envious, and divisive. Very sophisticated political strategies and leadership emerge from such organizations in the Hispanic community. That's a second reason for what I think will be an explosive, awakening, prideful strength.

Affirmation of Culture

The third reason is the most important—that Hispanics themselves are asserting the truth about their role in this country, and Americans are willing to listen. It's a wonderful story of pride and history of people whose roots in the southwestern United States stem literally from the bloodlines of the Aztecs. The dark skin, the dark hair, and the facial features are all attributable to those civilizations in Tenochtitlán, which was the center of the Aztec empire, in what is now Mexico City.

Advanced forms of astronomy, medicine, and architecture existed when the Spaniards arrived in the 1500s. Descendents of those bold and noble Spaniards literally burned their ships in the harbors of Vera Cruz as they began their trek across what is now Mexico and the United States. So it is not an accident that we have names of cities all over our country that bear the Hispanic heritage. Señora de los Angeles de la Purisima Concepcion is the

modern city of Los Angeles. The state of Colorado, taking the Spanish word for red, is named after the red sunsets they found there. Or la nevada is the snowfall whose namesake is the modern state of Nevada. Montaña was the mountainous region that is today the state of Montana. Or numerous other places that bear the evidence of these people who walked in search of glory and evangelized throughout the southwestern United States—like San Francisco or Santa Fe or San Antonio.

Or the modern heroes of the civil rights fights are a wonderful story of assertion of truth of people who have fought this country's wars and won more medals for bravery than any other ethnic group per capita.

I learn new facts all the time. The average number of young men lost in the Vietnam war by schools across America was about ten per major school in the country. I was at San Antonio's Edgewood High School last night, where they lost 57 in the Vietnam era, because of the patriotism that runs so deeply in the spirit of the Hispanic community.

The images are changing from that of the peon who's sitting with his tequila resting against a cactus to a father who is training his sons and daughters to be doctors and engineers and technologists . . . from the fetching young lady with the rose in her mouth, leaning against the cantina wall, to the mother who stands proudly before the pictures of her four sons, each wearing the uniform of a different branch of the Armed Services of the United States—that image will change ever more into the next century, as the culturalization process continues.

It's not an accident, I suppose, that the Miami Sound Machine has some of the top hits on top 40 radio. Nor was it chance that "La Bamba" was one of the most popular movies of the summer of 1987. Nor is it mere circumstance that Arquitectonica, as one of the hottest architectural firms in the country, is changing not only the skyline of Miami; it is sought all over the United States. Nor is it happenstance that people of both sexes melt to the music of Julio Iglesias. Nor is it mere chance that nachos, perhaps the greatest indication of a cultural beachhead, outsell hot dogs at the Chicago Cubs' baseball games.

My point is that this is a phenomenon. It's nothing to be afraid of. It is more an iteration of the American story. It is one more element of that beautiful American mosaic of people who come here because they want to work—people who come here because they want to invest in their children and make something of themselves. It's nothing for America to be afraid of, but it requires the understanding of how to harness that raw energy of the immigrants once again to revitalize and rejuvenate the country.

Conclusion

Those are a number of themes that I think characterize our mutual progress forward—themes for government, business, the individual, and, very importantly, those mediating institutions you lead. Corporate support for basic human care needs must grow in the years ahead. The way in which we're going to deal with drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence, child abuse, and other basic questions—these confront our society.

Education is too important to leave to a handful of school boards and professional educators. It is at the heart of whether or not this American ideal goes forward. And so investing in education is, again, a joint endeavor. That is why we will see more corporations involved in Adopt-a-School programs and others such as the one that exists in Boston, called the Boston Compact; or in Baltimore, the Baltimore Commonwealth Agreement. Or we see in my own city the San Antonio Education Partnership, where we put together a coalition of businesses, colleges, schools, and community organizations simply to invest in the future of our children. The effort requires the involvement of everyone in the society.

It means increased corporate encouragement of volunteerism among employees and contributions of noncash gifts in-kind with mediating institutions, such as yours, steering all of that energy and all of those resources in the most productive way. As a mayor, I can tell you that we have all kinds of offers from corporations, but frequently they meet the advertising needs of the company and not necessarily what needs to be done in the city.

So, what it takes is organizations that have the capability to steer gently, not to look a gift horse in the mouth, but to somehow guide and rein him in the right direction to achieve the maximum impact. This includes building parks for children in the central city, setting up programs in the schools, investing in literacy, dealing with teenage pregnancy, or helping the senior citizens (whom we have to make secure, lest they become a force in retarding goals for the future). Whether it be harnessing volunteers from among senior citizens or retirees or getting corporations and government to prepare older workers for service in retirement—all of that effort in the society requires the kinds of institutions that Independent Sector supports.

These realities of demographic change and economic transformation are the American story of the 1990s and the year 2000. It's not a question of

whether, it's only a question of how we prepare to meet them head on and remain consistent to the most basic American ideals.

And the most basic American ideals are those that we teach to children when they come to school for the first time. Too young to understand the words, they trust us, and they memorize, "...One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." We mean one nation—not privileged suburbs juxtaposed against burned out inner cities, reservations for a permanent underclass. We are talking about one nation—not rust belt against sun belt.

We refer to one nation under God—a God who can see into the home of the manufacturing worker rendered obsolete by a transforming economy, the home of the senior citizens afraid to step outside of their walled and barred existence (even to get the Social Security check or to walk to the corner store). This is a God who can see into the junkie heavens, the shooting galleries, who can see into the home of the battered spouse. One nation, indivisible—not one which has been rent asunder into Black and White, not rent asunder by selfishness or polarization.

One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Not just for those who were born with the right color of skin or the right color of hair, who speak with the right accent, went to the right school, grew up in the right neighborhoods, have the right last name—that's not what we teach them. We teach them one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

Those ideas, it seems to me, are fundamental to the makeup of our country. Without them, people are relegated to a permanent, structured, rigid class society, which is unacceptable to us. Without them, people have no reason to invest in the future. Without them, everyone wants everything now and no sacrifice, because there's not promise of a better future. Those ideals are essential to the American idea. If government cannot provide them because of fiscal and economic realities, if demographics make this harder, what all that means is that Americans of goodwill, such as those of you in this room and the institutions you represent, must rise to the occasion. It is on this question that the makeup, and the complexion, and the prosperity of our country into the next century will depend.